UNSETTLED LABORS

MIGRANT CARE WORK IN PALESTINE/ISRAEL

RACHEL H. BROWN

UNSETTLED LABORS

BUY

RACHEL H. BROWN

Unsettled Labors

Migrant Care Work in Palestine/Israel

DUKE
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

CONTENTS

Meinert, Mary Densmore, Chris Singer, Molly Metzger, Johnny Wu Gabbert, Michael Berg, Heather Berg, Kit Smemo, Mykael Ornbaun, Kaveh Razani, Vanity Gee, Brett Maricque, Anna Piller, Alix Gerber, Maddie Kronfeld, Sunny Lin, Mamie Noble, Chelsea Viteri, Jim Lochhead, and the inspiring Saint Louis Palestine Solidarity Committee family.

Many other friendships have sustained and inspired me over the last several years of book writing. Diana Sierra Becerra and Kevin Young were hands down the best thing to come of living in Northampton, and their camaraderie is a source of love and joy. Rachel Riskind has been a pillar of support, reality, hilarity, and connection since birth. Getting to navigate the feudal absurdity of academia, the turns and twists of adulthood, and the beauty of writing with Courtney Cook has been a blessing. Nick Micinski and Khameer Kidia have been the most beautiful and fun comrades with whom to be in and think through the world. Verónica Zebadúa-Yáñez has been a supreme comrade and friend over the last several years of wading through the academic world. I remain indebted to the enduring friendships of Danielle Chu, Ricky Perry, Kevin Anderle, Corey Solinger, Ming-Ming Lee, Sheila Desai, David Leskowitz, Emily Luhrs, Jacqui Vainik, Yael Shy, Max Cohen, Tsipe Angelson, Lisa Kronberg, Wendy Kohn, Tiferet Zimmern-Kahan, and Hania Bekdash, who have celebrated and supported me through life's twists and turns.

I would have none of the opportunities afforded to me without my family. My aunts, Ruth Beilin and Bets Brown, have cheered me on across the finish line. My in-laws, Ajay Issar, Shridhar Issar, Vinay Issar, and Shashi Sang, have supported and encouraged me. My mother and father, Elaine Beilin and Bob Brown, and my sister, Hannah Brown, have unconditionally cheered me on, and I am grateful for their presence, love, and curiosity. A special thanks also goes to Aaron, Jacob, and Hugh for their humor and support. Lastly, I could not have completed this book without my partner, Siddhant Issar. He has given extensive feedback on the project over the better part of a decade, helped remind me what the book is about during the lows, taken on the majority of reproductive labor during the final push, and shared humor, love, and support. And boundless gratitude goes to Kavi and Amaya, who bring joy, wisdom, and complete delight to each day.

Introduction

[My employers] keep on asking me, "Are you a nurse?!" And I say, "I don't have to be a nurse! I will be with her twenty-four hours a day, don't you know that?!" I have to be aware what will happen to her, we have to be aware, we want to stay more years! So we have to look after them very good! We have the law here that it's only four years and three months [we can stay], and I'm already here for nine years now.

Alice

Alice, an assistant pharmacist from the Philippines, works as a caregiver outside Afula, a small city in the northern district of Palestine/Israel.[1] Taken from the name for the Palestinian village 'al-Fuleh, Afula was established in 1925 by the American Zion Commonwealth (AMZIC), a land-purchasing colonial corporation committed to Jewish settlement in Palestine.[2] According-ing to the purchasing agreement, indigenous Palestinians were required to

buy portions of their own land or leave within four years.[3] Alice cares for and lives around the clock with Sarah, an elderly Jewish Israeli woman living with dementia who is largely immobile and spends most of her day in bed. She describes anticipating Sarah's every need, from the reorienting Sarah requires during hallucinations, to the life-saving medications that sustain her. Like 78 percent of elderly Jewish Israelis, Sarah was not born in Palestine/Israel, having left Morocco in the 1950s.[4] Though neither she nor Alice are indigenous, Sarah, as a settler-citizen, is socially constructed as an a priori inheritor of the land, while Alice is associated with foreignness, mobility, and impermanence. While Alice wishes to "stretch" time so she can earn money and be with her boyfriend, she holds neither hopes nor desires for making her relation to the land permanent, a territorial and temporal entitlement reserved for Jews and their descendants.[5]

Despite—and because of—her alienation, Alice knows how to care for Sarah better than anyone in Sarah's home, including Sarah's children and grandchildren. Alice notes her employers' regular surprise at the depth of her medical knowledge and the meticulous care she provides. Proving oneself indispensable to elderly settler-citizens also allows migrant caregivers to strategically ingratiate themselves into employers' families, a burden extending from Israel's strict deportation, migration, and citizenship policies. Scrupulous attention to Alice's employer is also a risk mitigation strategy, helping her minimize financial indebtedness, increase her bargaining power, finance her children's education, and build a second home for her family in Manila. While Alice expresses joy and fulfillment in aspects of her job—she explains, "I'm kind of loving to give my service to people"—she also says that "work is always work," and the job is only as good as the employer.

Alice has been in Palestine/Israel beyond the four years and three months allotted by her visa and must either work without documentation when Sarah dies, or seek a rarely granted "special visa."[6] Under the Israeli Law of Return, which privileges Jewish settlement over the Palestinian right of return, migrant caregivers can only remain inside the state as long as they are working for an elderly or disabled citizen.[7] They cannot enter with immediate family, nor can they marry other migrants, and until it was ruled unconstitutional by the High Court, they could not remain in the country with newborn babies beyond three months.[8] In practice, this pregnancy policy still often holds.[9] Each month after their visa expires, migrant caregivers must pay an increasing percent of their monthly salary to a deposit fund that they cannot collect until they leave the country.[10] As a disincentive

for overstaying, after six months, this money disappears.[11] Further, Israel's effective "binding" policy, which ties workers' legal status to their employment, prevents migrant caregivers from switching employers more than twice in two years, even under abusive circumstances.[12] It also restricts employment to the nursing sector and requires that they work exclusively in one of three geographical areas.[13] Were Sarah to become ill or injured during Alice's rest hours or days off, Alice could face accusations of patient neglect, deportation, or job loss. These regulations apply regardless of a caregiver's financial status and whether they have paid off the high-interest loans required to migrate. These constraints permeate Alice's relationship with her employer and inform the many ways she gains control over the work process. They also constitute a form of "settler common sense," taking as given employers' temporal fixity as inheritors of the land, naturalizing migrant caregivers as mobile and transient subjects, and erasing Palestinian dispossession and resistance.[14]

Alice, like many migrant caregivers, is both central to the functioning of Sarah's family and yet continually under their surveillance. She is expected to learn aspects of Jewish Israeli culture and perform familial closeness. Yet, she cares for Sarah from outside the Jewish collectivity. With past employers, Alice faced accusations of violence and theft, and was threatened with calls to immigration police while she was undocumented. The legal topography Alice navigates is bound up with the physical health of Sarah's body. Alice's story invites the question of how multigenerational imaginaries of aging and care are tied to migrant precarity and resistance and to the quotidian normalization of settler emplacement and indigenous dispossession.

This book argues that migrant eldercare is a critical yet overlooked component of the economic, cultural, biological, and discursive reproduction of settler colonialism in Palestine/Israel. It is also a site of labor that at times unsettles the givenness of settler emplacement and the temporal boundaries exclusively positioning Jews as the unquestioned inheritors of the land. The home, as a topography of risk that is contiguous with the nation, is a site where migrant caregivers do the "unsettled labors" of eldercare that render them neither wholly incorporable into the nation nor existentially alienable to the extent that Palestinians are made to be. As I discuss in the following pages, I choose the phrase "unsettled labors" to highlight both my methodological approach—situating migrant eldercare, as one form of reproductive labor, within the larger project of denaturalizing the colonial state—and the liminal positioning of migrant caregivers

as workers whose "labour[s] of care" disrupt the constitution of the Jewish Israeli home and nation as the exclusive realm of Jews, even as their labors ensure its reproduction.[15] Through this lens, I suggest how migrant caregivers' various subject positions unfold in relation to indigeneity, the purchasing power of the "citizen-consumer," and the colonial processes of racialization and anti-Blackness.[16] The home, as the locus of eldercare, is more than a site where bosses and workers dialectically emerge. It is also where Jewish Israelis reinforce their own emplacement and disavow collective violence against Palestinians as the condition of possibility for the family and national home.

I treat the home as a topography of risk that is contiguous with and inseparable from the nation. This topography is shaped by Israel's jus sanguinis citizenship regime, demographic preoccupations with maintaining the "Jewish character" of the state, invocation of a perpetual state of emergency, and particular features of neoliberal flexibilization in Palestine/Israel.[17] The concept of a topography departs from the binary notion of a "frontier" where the "domestic" and "foreign" meet, demarcating distinctive sites of indigenous and settler sovereignty. It asks how intimacies attributed to a so-called private sphere are a product of past and ongoing histories of imperialism— whether land dispossession or neoliberal precaritization—that are the conditions of possibility for private property and the family.[18] I center the messy space of simultaneous closeness, criminalization, resistance, and collective care beyond a settler-native binary where migrants negotiate settler colonial capitalism, forging community and creatively improving their working conditions.[19]

Migrant eldercare is not the only form of labor reproducing the home and unsettling a rigid indigenous-settler binary. Indeed, though not the focus of my project, in far smaller numbers migrant caregivers also tend to disabled Israeli citizens, many of whom are not part of the elderly population.[20] Rather, eldercare is a crucial but overlooked site that brings into sharp relief the gendered dynamics of intergenerational care provision under neoliberal capitalism. It is a prism through which the comparative racialization and positioning of settler, migrant, and native populations unfold. As one form of care work, eldercare is a focal part of what I call the coloniality of Israel's reproductive regime, the nexus of policies, laws, and social discourses that materially and discursively reproduce Israeli settler colonialism, even as migrant caregivers resist the worst effects of this regime on a daily basis.[21] Israel's reproductive regime governs not only the differential sustenance of

individuals' daily existence but also the promotion of biological reproduction and the (re)generation of narratives around aging, racial and colonial longevity, and Jewish national vulnerability. Pronatalist policies for Jewish Israelis, disinvestment in the Palestinian family, killing of Palestinians by the Israeli military and West Bank settlers, and regulation of Palestinian sexuality, reproduction, and birth are as much a part of this regime as reproductive labors such as eldercare.[22] As Frances Hasso illustrates, the biopolitical logic of Israel's regime is an extension of British and Zionist control over aspects of social reproduction since early Zionist settlement.[23] This logic is also evident in what Jewish National Fund head Joseph Mahmani called the "judaization" of the land.[24] In the present, medicalization of child birth, laws of conversion, policies on migration and the Law of Return, a history of sterilization of Ethiopian women and placement of Yemenite children in Ashkenazi homes, statistical counting of Palestinians, demolition of Palestinian homes and farms, mass killing and bombing of Palestinians, and separation of Palestinian families naturalize the eugenic investment in settler life and the disinvestment in non-Jewish elderly life.[25] Orientalist tropes representing Israel as a small country besieged by its Arab neighbors depict Israel as a vulnerable "[family] in arms" facing the permanent and existential threat of annihilation.[26] As I draw out through each chapter, it is within this regime that I locate the state provisioning of care—and eldercare in particular, as a form of labor at once conjuring the image of the elderly Jewish Israeli—and the state's rhetorical claims to fragility.[27]

Unsettled Labors

The concept of "unsettled labors" highlights several important aspects of migrant reproductive work and migrant caregivers' positioning within the Zionist state.[28] By reproductive labors, I refer not only to care and domestic work but, more capaciously, also to the physical and ideological labor of making indigenous land into a "familiar" (and familial) national home, whether through the violent practice of "making the desert bloom" or through the dissemination of Zionist ideologies to future settler-citizens.[29] The term "unsettled labors" highlights my methodological approach: drawing on decolonial critiques of the state to situate migrant labor as a matter of racialization *and* colonization. For decolonial scholars and organizers, "unsettling" has been described as a praxis whose aim is to unravel the

making of the nation-state and the concomitant calls for indigenous recognition and sovereignty with the goal of giving land back to indigenous communities.[30] Michelle Murphy situates "unsettling" as "not confined to indigenous people, but a project that also responsibilizes settlers to histories, entanglements, and complications that come from the historical and current structural violence of colonialism."[31] The ongoing nature of dispossession and indigenous resistance reminds us that what Kēhaulani Kauanui calls "enduring indigeneity" underwrites labor relations, even where indigeneity may not be directly invoked.[32] As Palestinian scholars and organizers have long shown, framing the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip as the only sites of occupation normalizes the 1948 boundaries of the state (indeed, as Jamil Hilal argues, the term "Palestinian occupied territories" has come to denote only the West Bank and Gaza).[33] Important critiques have also pointed to the everyday violence of "normalcy" under settler colonialism, the relegation of the violence of expulsion to an Israeli past, and the prevailing assumption that Israel is "the only guard against Palestinian violence."[34] By unsettling migrant care work, I aim to link feminist calls for the valuation of reproductive labor to these broader critiques. I thus deploy the term in reference to both the labors of live-in eldercare done by migrants and their positioning within Palestine/Israel.

Important Israel studies scholarship discusses the racial exclusions and exploitation migrant workers face, but this body of work largely leaves untouched Israel's status as a settler colonial state hinging upon land annexation. Racial exclusions of migrant laborers are not solely aimed at preserving a racially "pure" body politic but rather at doing so to justify territorial control. Migrant care work, like other migrant labors, is "constitutive of the inner logics of settler political economy."[35] In this way, the concept of "unsettling" also destabilizes a rigid settler-native binary that sees migrant populations as exogenous to settler colonial capitalism. (Im)migrants in settler colonies and their respective social positions have variously been conceptualized through the terms "arrivant,"[36] "subordinate settler,"[37] "settlers of color,"[38] "working-class settlers,"[39] and the "refugee settler condition,"[40] as well as part of the condition of "immigrant settlerhood."[41] Like Palestinians, migrant workers are treated as outside of "settler time," from Zionist narratives writing settler-citizens onto the history of the land, to settler claims to modernity situating Israel as a "high-tech," developed, "start-up nation."[42] Yet, unlike Palestinians, they cause settler society demographic anxiety without threatening Israel's founding mythology through claims to

territorial belonging. As Sarah Willen powerfully articulates, Palestinians are the "'Real' Others" posing an existential and material threat to Jewish Israeli hegemony, while migrant laborers are the "'Other' Others" who become threatening when they cease to be individual workers and take collective action.[43] Eritrean and Sudanese asylum seekers, in contrast, interrupt Zionist calls for demographic purity through their appeal to permanency on the basis of international human rights law.[44]

The term "unsettled" also resituates labor itself as a capacious set of colonial relations that exceeds the production of commodities and provisioning of services. In the arena of eldercare, the bathing, feeding, dressing, calming, and reorienting of one's employer comprise not only interactions between employer and employee but also affective exchanges where subjects embody and resist racial, gender, and class hierarchies that have been shaped by and through colonial encounters. "Unsettling" as a method also draws aspirational connections between Marxist feminist commitments to denaturalization and demystification (of housework as "not really work," for example) and decolonial approaches, such that "housework" is also seen as a territorial project of accumulation.[45] This dual demystification is especially important in light of political and theoretical discussions about gendered labor and transnational migration in the wake of neoliberal restructuring. Ample literature shows how structural adjustment reforms have led to the outsourcing of reproductive labors, largely, though not exclusively, to women from the Global South. I ask how labors of homemaking (in the house and nation) shed light on the ways that land and labor—as the two constitutive categories framing the settler colonial paradigm—are shaped by gendered and sexual norms and subject positions.[46] Focusing on the "uneven times of neoliberalism" unearths the ambiguities and inconsistencies of settler colonialism as a productive social force and reveals the limitations of a universalizing neoliberal framework that occludes the disparate manifestations of retrenchment, outsourcing, value-creation, and privatization in localized and historical contexts.[47]

"Unsettled labors" also highlights the ways migrant caregivers contest Israel's temporal boundaries by "stretching" the time allotted by their visa. In the Israeli context, legal exclusions are conditioned by Zionist mythology around a Jewish "birthright" to land. This "birthright" is both a territorial and a temporal claim, conjuring a "mythical past and redemptive future" that can only be achieved through a Jewish nation-state.[48] Compared to other migrant-receiving countries, Israel has one of the shortest

visa lengths, a policy shaped by the desire to safeguard a Jewish majority as justification for territorial control.[49] In contrast to Palestine/Israel, in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), for example, temporality becomes a technology of state power where "waiting" for a change in legal status is itself a disciplinary tactic.[50] Migrant caregivers' experiences in Palestine/Israel are not as readily captured by the framework of waiting, as they generally do not expect a shift in legal status to begin with.[51] In contrast to Kuwait, where noncitizens outnumber citizens, and where naturalization was once possible, migrant workers form a distinct minority in the Zionist state and have always been temporary.[52] Further, caregivers often understand their own temporal presence as bounded. Even as migrants strategically position themselves as explicitly temporary, they challenge these temporal boundaries on a daily basis, finding creative ways to lengthen their stays through building relationships, choosing employers who are more likely to help them secure visa extensions, and finding ways to collectively protect each other from deportation.[53]

To this end, I also draw on the concept of "unsettling" to highlight the ways migrant care work both reproduces and interrupts the exclusively Jewish constitution of the home and nation. This disruption stems from caregivers' intimate and foreign positioning in the household and nation as non-Jewish others.[54] Migrant caregivers describe relationships of physical closeness, affective distance, assimilation, and alienation unfolding in employment relationships and in Israel more broadly. Their marginalization constitutes a form of unbending alienation and exclusion from citizenship, residency, and the Jewish Israeli family, despite, paradoxically, their centrality to the functioning of the home and the Jewish Israeli popular imagination of aging.[55] Paradoxically, their indispensability to elderly survival—and their very presence as non-Jewish others in the Jewish Israeli home space— interrupts Zionist notions of the home itself as the most important site of Jewish continuity and reproduction, as the anchoring unit of the nation. Against the risks and exclusions they face in the home, caregivers navigate shifting power relations, making the home a place that more readily incorporates their needs.

Finally, "unsettling" highlights how caregivers forge a living and build community beyond a settler-native binary. Because caregivers are unable to write themselves or be written into a Zionist past and future, the state has "denied recognition" of migrant caregivers as "legitimate political actor[s]," making the field of political contestation negligible.[56] The strategies of

risk mitigation and resistance caregivers adopt stem, in part, from the fact of this limited political terrain. As Attiya Ahmad shows, temporal bound-edness does not preclude the forging of deep ties and affinities.[57] Despite state efforts to stymie the collective life of non-Jewish migrants, caregiv-ers establish communal spaces of care and mutual aid beyond the nuclear family, unsettling the state's racist instrumentalizing of non-Jewish work-ers. Since arriving in large numbers in the mid-1990s, migrants have built extensive community networks on the basis of religion, cultural affiliation, and hometown region. Caregivers refuse their peripheral positioning, creat-ing belonging through claims to their own Christian faith, love for particular aspects of Jewish Israeli culture, deep attachments to the families for whom they work, or gratitude for Israel's migration regime when compared to par-ticular other countries.[58] For others, conveying "national love" or solidarity with various settler subjectivities allows migrants excluded from the "ideal form" of the nation to contingently "pass into the community," at least on a momentary basis.[59]

Situating Palestine/Israel

The workings of neoliberal capitalism in settler colonial states requires we understand how tactics of managing racial and indigenous difference shift under changing modes of political economy. Homemaking, as a central goal of settler projects, takes on a heightened significance in the Israeli context that is not simply interchangeable with other states that outsource care.[60] This outsourcing is inextricably tied to the historical role reproductive labor has played in constituting colonies, farms, and houses as self-justificatory evidence of land ownership. As a society whose raison d'être is Jewish con-trol over territory, the ideological and material reproduction of the Jewish population is central to the demographic peopling of land as "facts on the ground."[61] Still, Israel's labor outsourcing regime is not wholly exceptional among high-income "migrant-receiving" states, nor among other settler co-lonial states such as Canada, Australia, and the United States. Arguably like all states, Israel produces legal exclusions as a way of fortifying an "imagined community."[62] Denmark, Singapore, Malaysia, the UAE, and Taiwan also require that migrants remain permanently temporary.[63] Singapore and Saudi Arabia place restrictions on migrant pregnancies, and Canada pre-vents migrants from initially migrating with family.[64] Whereas pregnancy is

not explicitly prohibited, the sexual rights and health of migrant women are closely monitored in Malaysia, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, and Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states.[65] As in Israel, these policies serve as a form of discipline stemming from racist fears of migrant sexuality and reproductivity.[66] Similar "binding" policies exist in Taiwan and GCC countries, closely tying workers' employment mobility and residency rights to employment status.[67] The Israeli government, in this respect, is more restrictive than Canada, and less so than the UAE and Singapore, where workers require an employer's permission to switch jobs.[68] As in the UAE, Denmark, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan, where the right to remain inside the state is linked to employment status, migrant caregivers navigate daily the impacts of debt bondage.[69]

Many countries also bar migrant caregivers from permanent residency while restricting caregivers from leaving employers. While Israel and Taiwan are among the strictest with respect to residency caps, Taiwan's temporal allotment of twelve years is significantly longer than that of Israel.[70] In the Palestinian/Israeli context, the formality of exclusion often demands that non-Jewish workers prove they pose no threat to demographic control over land. As tactics of territorial control, the jus sanguinis nature of citizenship law and demographic management also profoundly impacts reproductive policies for migrant women.[71] Rather than claiming singularity, I am interested in the social meaning of migrant eldercare in Israel as it emerges through Israel's self-fashioning as an exceptional "start-up" nation[72] that commonly styles itself the "only democracy in the Middle East."[73] Not only is Israel the sole settler state in the Middle East region; it also has the highest percentage of elderly receiving long-term care from temporary migrants. This is true even as the proportion of migrants to citizens contrasts with GCC states such as Kuwait and Qatar, where the former significantly outnumber the latter.[74] Among Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, Israel ranks thirtieth out of thirty-five countries for percentage of gross domestic product (GDP) spent on long-term care.[75] A notable 55 percent of long-term care workers are migrants (who, unlike citizens, are required to live with their employers), and at least 30 percent of frail elderly—those over sixty-five with attenuated disabilities—are cared for by migrants, while 41 percent of the general over-sixty-five population are granted permits for migrant caregivers.[76]

In contrast, the majority of elderly in surrounding states are cared for by family in multigenerational households. While surrounding states such as

Lebanon, Jordan, and those of the GCC grant permits to migrants for a range of domestic services, the Israeli state only does so for eldercare and care for the disabled.[77] The percentage of citizens over sixty-five is also significantly higher in Israel at 12.2 percent, a number that is expected to increase, as compared to 5.7 percent regionally.[78] According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, between 2015 and 2035, the percentage of Israeli elderly is expected to increase by 77 percent.[79] By some estimates, there will be one migrant caregiver for every fifth elderly Israeli by 2025.[80] This reality raises crucial questions about why migrant women are allowed into particular facets of Jewish Israeli family life and society but not others, a discussion to which I turn in the subsequent pages.

Israel also holds unique features among settler states. Whereas in civic settler states like the United States and Canada, racial hierarchy belies the formally declared values of equality, in Palestine/Israel, an ethno-racial settler state, not all citizens can be nationals, and exclusionary particularism is overtly expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Basic Laws that function as Israel's de facto constitution.[81] In the United States and Canada, temporary migrants may tactically appeal to universal liberal tropes characterizing the state as a "nation of immigrants" to advocate for status change or belonging, yet such universalism does not exist in Palestine/Israel, leaving racialized migrant laborers in a distinctive discursive terrain.[82] Over sixty discriminatory laws against Palestinians also profoundly impact social discourses naturalizing and justifying caregivers' right to legal protection and collective identity.[83] At the time of writing, the formal nature of exclusion has most recently been made plain through the 2018 Nation-State Bill defining Israel as the "nation-state of the Jewish People," the ongoing burning of and attacks against Palestinian property and land in the West Bank (most recently in Hawara), and renewed government commitments to ethnic cleansing.[84]

Further, in contrast to settler states who claim their frontiers "closed" under industrial capitalism, Israel treats its "frontier" as "open" for ongoing colonization, and its ambiguous and unresolved borders conjure, as Iyko Day argues, nineteenth-century North American frontier violence.[85] Israel thus offers a glimpse into the ways neoliberal restructuring can itself be a strategy of settler domination and concomitant neoliberal discourses, a mode of settler self-indigenizing.[86] As Andy Clarno and Leila Farsakh have shown, this relationship is particularly evident in the neoliberal period following the Oslo Peace Accords, when heightened securitization and indirect rule

over the West Bank created Palestinian reserves of surplus labor.[87] Since this period, increased closures between Israel and the West Bank, the outsourcing of jobs in West Bank industries, and the influx of migrant workers from Southeast Asia and Eastern Europe have complicated continual reliance on West Bank Palestinian laborers.[88]

Discourses denying Palestinian indigeneity and depicting Palestinians as "infiltrators" also place pressure on non-Jewish temporary migrants to express loyalty to the Zionist project.[89] Zionist anxieties around the loss of a Jewish majority due to the presence of "foreign" workers is heightened by exiled Palestinians' claim to a right of return.[90] As Evyn Lê Espiritu Gandhi shows, these exclusions position Ashkenazi Jews as refugees par excellence deserving of protection.[91] The language of permanent crisis also generates a "temporal frame of emergency" constructing those who oppose aspects of Israeli security policy or Zionist ideology as moral threats to the survival of the Jewish people.[92] This legal exceptionalism manifests in Israel's declared immunity from international law, customs, and covenants that migrant caregivers could otherwise leverage, under the premise that Israel is bound to the Law of Armed Conflict rather than international human rights law.[93] The invocation of a state of exception also enables Israel to evade ratification of other covenants with relevance to migrant caregivers, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 189. Historically, the government has rejected annual recommendations by the CEDAW Committee to protect Palestinian women in the West Bank and Gaza and to implement General Recommendation 26 on Women Migrant Workers.[94]

As a result, migrants have fewer channels for the effective invocation of human rights norms, and workers must carefully choose when and how to negotiate for their rights. While some caregivers suggest that they actively avoid politics, others spend their rest days learning Israeli labor and migration law, studying Hebrew so they can better understand what their employers say about them, and attending "Know Your Rights" workshops. Some leverage law through direct conversations with employers, while others strategically create relationships of indispensability that mitigate against poor labor protections. In different ways, Israel's logic of emergency thus renders Palestinians, migrant caregivers, and asylum seekers outside the ambit of the law where legal protection is concerned but well within the law when securitization is desired.[95]

In what follows, I detail the framework through which I understand eldercare within a broader discussion about land and labor. I then provide background on Israeli neoliberal restructuring and the transnational organization of migration facilitating this restructuring. Finally, I turn to the methodology and layout of the book.

Eldercare as Reproductive Labor

Reproduction of the Jewish Israeli home-as-nation hinges on the labor of ensuring intergenerational futurity. From a Marxist feminist perspective, central to this project is the reproductive labor of caring for children (future workers), current workers, the elderly (former workers), and the disabled. Unlike childcare, the "product" of eldercare is not future workers who generate wealth for the family or future soldiers who will defend the nation. Eldercare is nevertheless a site of labor extraction while also producing cultural and ethical scripts about the nation's orientation toward some of its vulnerable citizens. The elderly must be kept alive and their (consumptive, emotional, and cognitive) needs met, not because of their earning potential or their military capacities but because of their social value as members of families and societies.[96] For Marx, reproduction is as much about meeting the consumptive needs of the working class as a totality as it is individual workers.[97] Expanding this analysis, migrant eldercare is part of the reproduction of settler capitalist society as a social whole, both because it frees Jewish Israelis—typically women—to join the labor force and take care of working adults and future workers, *and* because it gives capacity to those filling other ideological roles, whether cooking family recipes, hosting Shabbat meals and holidays, ensuring the continuity of religious observance, or tending to children coming home from army duty on the weekends.

Physically and symbolically, migrant eldercare is central to the survival and protection of what is often referred to as Israel's "founding generation"—those citizens who were present during or fought for Israeli statehood, or those who are Holocaust survivors.[98] Significantly, of the thirty-eight thousand elderly Jewish Israelis employing migrant caregivers, more than half are Holocaust survivors.[99] Founding generation narratives around statehood, the Holocaust, and anti-Semitism are lynchpins in Israel's justification for its raison d'être. As a "remembering collective," elderly

survivors are central to maintaining an ethos of shared experience through which the establishment of an exclusionary Jewish state in Palestine became a way of "giv(ing) the survivors a voice" and "redeeming [victims'] death."[100] The reproduction of Israeli settler society as a social class depends upon the twin metaphors of the youthful "new Jew"—tellingly named the *sabra*, or strong, masculine Jewish Israeli—and the comparatively "weak" victim of diasporic anti-Semitism, as captured by the image of the elderly Holocaust survivor. The elderly thus need migrant caregivers to sustain their relationship to the nation as heroic and vulnerable victims that keep the Holocaust and the "founding" of Israel alive while becoming symbolic proxies for the vulnerability of the collective Jewish Israeli body.[101]

Beyond the symbolic significance of the "founding generation," the labor of eldercare is also distinctive from childcare due to the importance of matrilineal descent and its politicization in Israel. Since 1949, childcare done by Jewish Israeli "heroine mother[s]" has been thought to culturally and ideologically fortify a Jewish future, while biologically ensuring racial continuity and purity. As demographic bearers of the nation, mothers reinforce the religious emphasis on the need to be "fruitful and multiply."[102] Through pronatalist policies and state rewards for mothering, this cultural and religious imperative morphs into a political one, making the Jewish Israeli home the site of Zionist ideological and Jewish biological continuance. In contrast to the labors of childcare, eldercare requires neither that the caregiver pass down matrilineal identity, nor that they teach Jewish practices, rituals, and Zionist beliefs.

Finally, eldercare is part and parcel of Israel's broader demographic concern with promoting the health and growth of a Jewish majority as self-justification for continued land colonization and a perceived strengthening of the collective body through the early Zionist commitment to scientific and racial "improvement."[103] This demographic reality is bolstered by a burgeoning "Longevity Industry," a nexus of technological, biomedical, corporate, and state entities committed to positioning Israel as a leader in increasing the lifespan of Israel's aging population and in biotechnological innovation more broadly.[104]

To preserve the language used by workers themselves, I use the term "caregiver" when referring to migrants doing live-in eldercare while drawing out the affective valences of eldercare as a specific kind of care work. I treat care as a labor, a relation, a process, and a discourse, and I draw at different points on the terms "eldercare" and "care work." At times, I use the

latter term to adopt the language workers use in their own stories, while at other moments, I draw on the former to emphasize the specific labors of tending to the elderly. While I take "care work" to include a multitude of tasks limited neither to eldercare nor to labors taking place inside the home, in my discussions of post-1990 migrant labor, I use the term to denote tasks such as taking charges to doctors' appointments and adult daycare, giving massages, shopping, bathing and dressing charges, navigating hospital and insurance systems, working with charges on cognitive skills, providing emotional support and companionship, helping charges integrate into their own families as their conditions worsen, acting as death doulas, and arranging for peaceful transitions in charges' final days. Migrant caregivers' labors also include the often extracontractual, socially stigmatized "dirty work" of household maintenance, such as cooking, laundry, cleaning excrement, and washing dishes.[105] In these ways, care work is also a form of affective labor, in its connotation both as a labor producing a service rather than a product and as a job requiring workers to convey particular emotional orientations.[106] For Alice, the nexus of migration and employment laws restricting worker mobility demand that she exert herself around the clock, helping her employer walk, shower, use the bathroom, sleep, eat, and relax. Caregivers must often lift the elderly without assistance several times a day, an activity that has caused injury and chronic pain for many.[107] The scrupulous labor Alice provides is as much out of love as it is because she "want[s] to stay more years," a possibility wrapped up in Sarah's bodily integrity.

Thus, for Alice and others, care is "more than a feeling"; it is a set of labors aimed at preserving elderly life.[108] Treating care as a necessarily positive or "innocent" virtue among interdependent individuals, as care ethicists such as Sara Ruddick and Virginia Held do, elides the structural conditions forcing economic and legal dependency through processes of colonialism, imperialism, and nation-building while overlooking the rootedness of care in labor relations.[109] Deracinated from political economy and race, contemporary divisions of reproductive labor become dehistoricized and naturalized. As Black feminist theorists and scholars of race and capitalism have shown, the exploitation and expropriation of Black women's reproductive and productive labors generates economic and symbolic value, reproducing capital for ongoing projects of displacement, dispossession, and extralegal violence.[110] In the settler context of the United States, Black women's labor not only underpinned the wealth of enslavers and the industrial economy but, postemancipation, divisions of labor have manifested in racial exploitation in

the domestic work sector.[111] While not suggesting historical uniformity, I draw from this methodological approach to reproductive labor—and from theories of intersectionality (in addition to their longer genealogies)—to situate eldercare, as one form of reproductive labor, within the historical trajectory of settler colonialism, capital accumulation, and racialization.[112] Such an approach invites us to consider care as an effect of imperial intervention and contemporary circuits of capital and as an undergirding resource in the "intersectionality of struggles" against late capitalism across colonial contexts.[113]

Beyond its capture by the state, care can also be a mode of surviving and building alternatives to settler colonial capitalism, even as the state and employers alike may "instrumentalize empathy and care to their own ends."[114] The lives of migrant workers in Palestine/Israel beyond a settler-native binary is marked by what Evyn Lê Espiritu Gandhi calls "archipelagos" of solidarity.[115] Black feminist approaches to care emphasize community, self-care, and "love-politics" as crucial to resisting the exploitation of Black women in the face of capitalism and state violence and to "producing new forms of political communities."[116] As anticolonial, queer of color, and disability justice traditions have long theorized, care is a labor and resource required for community survival and thriving against the forces of white supremacy, slavery, colonialism, ableism, and patriarchy. Among these traditions, Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha, Uma Narayan, Shatema Threadcraft, Kim TallBear, and others have suggested how care can be a site of paternalism and violence *and* a form of, in the oft-quoted words of Audre Lorde, "self-preservation" and "political warfare."[117] Depictions of caregivers as agentless victims without their own supportive networks and modes of surviving the state overlook the multiple reasons for migration, workers' navigation of asymmetrical employment relationships, the strategic use of familial tropes to increase bargaining power or find meaning in work, and the close bonds caregivers form with charges.[118] Care is also not only a resource transferred by a biological caretaker in one country to a dependent in someone else's nuclear family.[119] Though caregivers navigate the pain of family separation, they find inventive ways to balance their duties to family members, friends, and transnational communities, providing for biological family and kinship networks and redefining the meaning of partnership, parenthood, and friendship.[120] Care is laborious and political, used to manage and engineer demographic projects and build resistant networks of solidarity that refuse the strictures of the state.

Centering the messier politics of care is not to deny the complex and contradictory relationships between migrant caregivers and their employers, nor to minimize elderly vulnerability. Alice's relationship with Sarah is one of immense contradictions, involving closeness, trust, strain, isolation, and exploitation. Alice cares deeply for Sarah, whom she calls *eema*, the Hebrew word for mother, and says she enjoys "showing [her] what love is" and "feel[ing] the love" when Sarah expresses gratitude. She explains, "Of course we are here for the money, but for me it's also the service that we're willing to give." The complexity Alice describes necessitates attention to what Joan Tronto calls the "injustice justified by care" as well as to the potentialities in creating alternatives to these injustices through collective care.[121]

Land, Reproductive Labor, and Neoliberal Restructuring

My argument that migrant care work—and eldercare in particular—is an overlooked site of settler colonial reproduction hinges on the situatedness of this work within Israel's reproductive regime. The biopolitical investment in settler life and disinvestment in all other life occurs through the uneven distribution of health, social, and economic resources, each of which is necessary for the social reproduction of communities and families.[122] Under neoliberal restructuring, non-Jewish migrant labor "triangulates" the differential investment in indigenous and settler populations as the state manages the dual need for cheap labor and territorial control.[123] Like other reproductive labors before it, migrant eldercare is one aspect of what Glen Coulthard terms "colonial-capital accumulation." Building on Marx's notion of "primitive accumulation"—the violent process of labor exploitation and land expropriation required to jumpstart capitalism—Coulthard argues that native dispossession is a far more central driving force of settler colonial capitalism than orthodox Marxist analyses allow.[124] Erecting homes, neighborhoods, settlements, and communities through reproductive labor has in the past and present been central to the creation of the familial and national home as an "object of material reconfiguration."[125] Despite the ubiquitous figure in Zionist mythology of the pioneering Ashkenazi mother tilling soil, under British and Zionist control, reproductive labors done by Mizrahi Jewish and Palestinian women, the latter of whom also faced dispossession, were necessary to the maintenance of Zionist settlements.[126] In the early years

of colonization, Palestinians were both employed as a source of less costly labor and later excluded from labor markets under the "conquest of labor" period where *avoda ivrit*, or "Hebrew labor," was exclusively employed as a way of ensuring access to land and reserving better jobs for Ashkenazi Jews.

The Zionist imperative to "people" the land by creating literal homes in Palestine is thus an explicitly gendered one intertwined with control of reproductive labor markets.[127] Precisely because the Zionist project has not uniformly relied on indigenous Palestinians as a source of exploitable labor across settlement waves and labor sectors, the "settler colonial mode of production," as Day suggests, relies on racialized "alien labor" that takes place on land belonging to native populations.[128] Exemplifying this reality in the neoliberal era, in 1993 Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin noted that the government "[needed] to bring thousands of foreign workers to reduce the number of Palestinians walking around in our streets."[129] The state thus granted the first visas to workers from Thailand, Romania, Bulgaria, and China to fill in temporary labor gaps in the construction industry.[130] Rabin's comment suggests how methods for maintaining territorial control and repressing resistance shift in response to changing political-economic commitments. In the period of the early 1990s following the Oslo Peace Accords—a time wherein austerity measures were already underway—the state promoted a policy of separation between Israelis and Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, increasing the number of checkpoints and work permits required to enter Israel. This shift created a series of "disconnected Palestinian population reserves,"[131] generating a "surplus population" of "redundant" Palestinian workers that the state hoped to "contain" through the military and administrative division of the West Bank.[132] More broadly, under neoliberal restructuring, the processes of protecting a Jewish majority and controlling land have taken the form of targeted austerity and disinvestment in non-Jewish life through privatization; the "bantustanisation" of the West Bank; increased surveillance; deregulation of the nursing, agriculture, and construction sectors; and an impressive rise in inequality and reduced public expenditure.[133]

Thus, neoliberal restructuring in Palestine/Israel was shaped not only by a global turn to economic liberalization but also by the colonial imperative to create a system of "enclosure and indirect rule" to maintain territorial control.[134] While Israeli austerity measures are not new to late capitalism—indeed, they have guided policy throughout British Mandate and Zionist periods—since the 1990s, they involve new global populations

that are accompanied by the circulation of updated discourses exceptional-izing Israel as a site of modernity.[135] Importantly, I do not make a simplistic causal claim about Palestinian securitization, the decrease in reliance on Palestinian labor, and the presence of migrant caregivers. As Farsakh shows, the entrance of migrant laborers into the Israeli economy did not neatly or uniformly decrease the demand for Palestinian workers.[136] Indeed, the first time non-Jewish temporary migrants were granted visas for caregiving followed the passage of the Long-Term Care Insurance Program (LTCIP) in 1988. Instead of implying linear causation, this post-Oslo shift to migrant labor signifies a "conjuncture," what Stuart Hall describes as "a period when different social, political, economic and ideological contradictions that are at work in society and have given it a specific and distinctive shape come together, producing a crisis of some kind."[137] The presence of migrant caregivers, then, emerges at a conjuncture where neoliberal capitalism and settler colonialism meet—a coming together of austerity policies, economic liberalization, discursive shifts toward the "modern" and financially healthy Jewish Israeli family, and the ongoing demographic demands of an occupying state attempting to justify its control over a sovereign people who continually resist. Chief among the contradictions of this conjuncture is that the Zionist insistence on Jewish demographic supremacy requires for its maintenance the presence and reproductive labors of non-Jews. A nexus of labor, citizenship, and migration laws and policies thus creates a "vulnerable labor force" that meets the need of Israel's eldercare crisis alongside the reality of an exploding elderly population, all the while not altering Jewish control over territory.[138]

Symbolically, the image of the migrant caregiver embedded within the Jewish Israeli nuclear family represents the economic liberalization of Israel and its shift from an upper-middle to a high-income country characterized by privatization and flexibilization. Migrant caregivers signify Israeli "settler modernity" and a "Global North" cosmopolitanism.[139] Indeed, some have called the presence of migrant caregivers a "luxury" service, as the number of permits issued to workers in some years exceeds the growth in the aging population. That is, the relative affordability of hiring migrant caregivers allows citizens to employ them in excess of the formal number of elderly qualifying for the in-home care benefit based on need.[140] The availability of permits will likely only increase, given the impressive growth of Israel's elderly population; between 2017 and 2035, the overall size of the elderly population is expected to have expanded by 103 percent.[141] Notably,

advertisements by recruitment companies for aging in place regularly feature the Jewish Israeli *saba* (grandfather) and *savta* (grandmother) as the overt and silent referents of eldercare benefits. That Jewish Israelis are the citizens predominantly appropriating this status symbol is evidence of how care can become an effect of the "biopolitics of settler colonialism."[142] Yet this "luxury" is made possible by the increased vulnerability of workers in the social service sector, including those previously benefiting from welfare services, disproportionately Palestinian women citizens of Israel and Mizrahi women.[143]

Because round-the-clock labor is particularly costly for patients, precarious workers have been integral to the transition from a "collectivist welfare" society (for Jewish Israelis) to a neoliberal liberalized economy.[144] As the elderly population expands, the burden on government spending for eldercare increases, making privatization an attractive cost-saving mechanism. Put in starker terms, migrant caregivers can earn the same amount of money for six days of live-in, round-the-clock labor as live-out, citizen caregivers earn for forty-three hours of work.[145] It was during this turn to labor flexibilization—the introduction of outsourcing, private service delivery, temporary employment, zero-hour contracts, benefit cutbacks, and weakened union protections—that the LTCIP was born.[146] Granting vouchers for in-home care to qualified elderly and disabled citizens based on age, dependency, and income, the LTCIP generated a private market for care procurement mediated through private placement agencies. For live-in migrant caregivers, the main effects of flexibilization are temporary contracts that are tied to workers' legal status; "contract substitution," or on-the-job changes to a contract after a worker signs it; and a lack of transparency and accountability in recruitment and enforcement.[147]

In contrast to Jewish Israeli families, employment of migrant caregivers is vastly less common among even wealthy Palestinian citizens, and caregivers are far less often placed in Palestinian families—a reality shaping the focus of my project. First, the total elderly population includes only 8 percent Palestinian citizens of Israel. Further, in 2015, the population of Palestinians living in Israel was composed of only 4 percent elderly citizens, as compared to 13 percent among the total Jewish Israeli population.[148] While from 2015 to 2035 the elderly Jewish Israeli population is projected to increase by 77 percent, among Palestinian citizens of Israel it will increase by 14 percent.[149] Unlike Jewish Israelis, the overwhelming majority of Palestinian citizens of Israel benefitting from the LTCIP use in-kind support to

compensate family members, neighbors, and friends for their care labor, and they more often rely upon informal care structures through multigenerational family arrangements.[150] The fewer affordable in-home care options for Palestinian citizens are also due to broader health-care inequalities and related issues of access to health-care institutions, including higher rates of uninsured persons; lack of health-care access; disinvestment in longevity and end-of-life care for Palestinians; spatial segregation; economic strangulation; and criminalization.[151] These disparities have worsened alongside state retrenchment, manifesting in gaps in life expectancy, chronic morbidity, and infant mortality between Jewish Israelis and Palestinians, and between Ashkenazi and Mizrahi Jewish Israelis.[152] It is within this broader economy of apartheid, occupation, ethnic cleansing, and disinvestment that I locate access to live-in, long-term eldercare.[153]

The Transnational Organization of Migration

At the nexus of settler colonialism and neoliberal restructuring, the unsettled labors of migrant care work are also a product of structural adjustment policies, national debt, and colonial histories of labor exploitation. Transnationally, the reproductive labor sector is shaped by civil society groups, informal migrant networks, unions, private recruitment agencies, and human rights organizations. It is also shaped by financial institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), both of which were key engineers of structural adjustment, conditional aid, and welfare retrenchment deeply impacting migrant-sending countries. Coupled with a growth in the aging population, neoliberal restructuring has increased the demand for migrant reproductive labor, creating an "international transfer of caretaking" that capitalizes on racialized and gendered hierarchies and demands that workers provide particular "tradable competences" to middle- and high-income countries.[154]

Under pressure from the IMF and World Bank, many formerly colonized states began implementing labor-export-oriented policies in the 1970s and 1980s. Reflecting this trend, according to the ILO, there are roughly 67 million domestic workers globally, 11.5 million of which are international migrants. Of this total, over 73 percent are women, a phenomenon often labeled the "feminization of labor."[155] Yet care migration from the Philippines is equally rooted in historical and ongoing forms of US and European

imperialism. Notably, in the Philippines, the United States' military presence facilitated the "empire of care" that underwrites the ongoing migration of nurses.[156] In the Philippines and other labor-export states, migrant workers contribute sizably to the GDP.[157] Former president of the Philippines Corazon Aquino famously dubbed migrant women "new national heroes and heroines," depicting overseas employment as a form of national service.[158] These histories implicate Israel as a newer "host" country of formerly colonized states enmeshed in debt relations with the Global North.

Since the mid-1990s, in addition to private procurement schemes, labor migration has been facilitated by private employment agencies, the for-profit, market-driven organizations upholding the "migration industry."[159] A mark of the widespread delegation of care to the private sector, agencies operate at the local, regional, and transnational levels, recruiting migrants in their home countries through local agents or subagents, holding predeparture trainings, working with placement agencies in receiving countries to match workers with employers, and acting as intermediaries between employers and workers. Private agencies notoriously charge exorbitant fees for processing visas and work permits, requiring migrants to use property or personal possessions as collateral. Compounded by a lack of social and legal protections, agencies create a transnational rotational system whereby the continual entry of new workers into the market generates continual profit.[160]

These disparities suggest how the racializing and gendering of caregivers is shaped not only by employers' attitudes but also by the private sector, which marketizes sexist and racist stereotypes about which workers constitute "good" caregivers. Suggesting how care work is continually racialized and gendered, agencies "set" prices for visas from different countries. While recruitment agencies have charged Filipinx caregivers on average USD $8,000 to migrate, they charge South Asian migrants upward of USD $10,000.[161] For male caregivers from India, recruitment fees tend to be the highest. Jay, a caregiver from India who formerly worked as a driver in Saudi Arabia, said he has friends who paid as much as USD $17,000. Such disparities also inform how migrants evaluate Israel among other "destination" states. Among migrant-receiving countries, Palestine/Israel is generally thought of as a strong second-tier option that is less desirable than Canada, where there is hope for residency, citizenship, and employment options outside the nursing industry, and more desirable than the UAE, Cyprus, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Malaysia, Singapore, and Hong Kong.[162] Many workers described

the middling position of Palestine/Israel in comparative terms—while recruitment fees are generally much higher than in GCC states, salaries are also often better.

Operating at the "meso" level of the migration industry are national employment and migration regimes determining visa lengths, workers' legal and social rights, and states' and placement agency's responsibilities.[163] National laws and policies influence demand for workers by providing tax credits and cash in-kind for purchasing care on the market. When bilateral agreements exist, as they now do between Israel and the Philippines, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Ukraine, they can theoretically influence exploitative price-setting practices though enforcement challenges.[164] This "meso" level is also shaped by transnational legal frameworks and institutions governing labor migration. Following decades of advocacy, the ILO now formally recognizes domestic and household labor, in particular since the passage of the 1996 Home Work Convention (C177) and the 2011 Domestic Workers Convention (C189).[165] Still, the power of the ILO largely lies in its provisioning of technical assistance in the domestication of transnational labor standards.[166] In the Israeli context, the weight of unratified convention C189 is more symbolic than substantive, and its tenets remain a marginal conversation among caregivers.[167] Alongside the International Organization of Migration, the World Bank, the OECD, and the IMF, the leading international, intergovernmental bodies addressing migration regularly position migration as a form of economic development, perpetuating particular "gendered migration narratives" around the trafficked migrant victim in search of economic opportunity.[168] Such approaches ultimately leave intact the racialized and gendered organization of transnational labor markets for care, even as they may formally advocate on behalf of worker protections.[169] The onus of clamping down on exploitative recruitment agencies thus often falls upon governments, who benefit most from the cost-saving spoils of worker precarity.

The transnational organization of migration is also shaped by migrant networks, which share information about available jobs with friends and family; build communities of support and mutual aid in receiving countries; work with embassies, nongovernmental organizations, and sometimes recruitment agencies to negotiate their rights; and organize political campaigns. In the Israeli case, these networks often take the form of mutual aid and service provision, as workers are constricted by the threat of deportation and, as in many countries, an absence of domestic worker

trade unions.[170] Migrant networks also push against reductionist notions of migrants as development entrepreneurs. Care migration is not solely determined by economics, but also by class, sexuality, access to health services, religion, personal desire to travel, and love—familial, platonic, and romantic. Ella, an evangelical Christian from the Philippines, came to Palestine/Israel to be close to the places where Jesus once lived. Mayra, a caregiver from Central Province, Sri Lanka, came to escape "personal problems for [her] family" following the conflict between the Tamil minority and Sinhalese majority. Alka, a devout evangelical Christian from Nepal, originally migrated to save money for her son's college tuition. Kyra, a caregiver from India, migrated to support her family, but chose Palestine/Israel so she could be closer to her boyfriend working in Dubai. Workers migrate for myriad reasons shaped but not solely determined by restructuring under late capitalism.

Book Layout and Methods

To draw out the entanglements of care work with economic exploitation, race, colonialism, and resistance, I read worker and employer narratives, court documents, parliamentary proceedings, media discourse, recruitment agency websites, and government statements as texts that comparatively racialize and gender migrant caregivers as differently disposable, vulnerable, flexible, dangerous, and desirable in relation to Palestinian workers, Eritrean and Sudanese asylum seekers, Mizrahi (Middle Eastern) Jewish Israelis, and Ashkenazi (European) Jewish Israelis. As a project of grounded, interdisciplinary political theory, my analysis frames each of these sources, as well as events, meetings, and gatherings I was invited to attend during my field work, as lenses into the social construction of eldercare. As a work of grounded political theory, I draw on this multimodal archive to draw out the intimate "scenes of close connection" between reproductive labor markets, Jewish Israeli homes, globally dispersed recruitment agencies, and the historical building of Jewish colonies.[171] My aim is to adopt what Lisa Wedeen calls a "sense of epistemological reflexivity" toward academic disciplines that otherwise mystify labor relations through a siloed approach.[172] This methodology stems from a commitment within critical political theory to inductive, nonideal theory—the formulation of theory based upon the world that is.[173] Such an approach treats theory as "a recursive process," one

continually reshaped and reworked in response to the experiences of those facing social and political violence, with the aim of shifting these conditions in the world as it is, whether through consciousness-raising or solidarity.[174]

Throughout the book, I draw from a range of interdisciplinary secondary literature, including settler colonial studies, migration studies, Palestine studies, Israel studies, and feminist theories of reproduction. Drawing from scholarship across disciplines enables a *longue durée* examination of care work beyond the neoliberal present. In thinking through Israel's reproductive regime and its multiple colonial instantiations, I take my cue from Michel Foucault's concept of biopolitics as the "political ordering of life" that manages, counts, quantifies, and disaggregates at the level of population, where "life" denotes both the biological and the constitution of the ethical.[175] I interrogate how migrant care work unfolds within a broader field of violence exposing Palestinians to surveillance and spatial confinement under a "regime of movement," land dispossession, injury, and death.[176]

I rely on critical discourse and narrative analyses to foreground not only workers' stories, but also my own position as what I call, drawing on Abigail Bakan's work, a "settler-in-waiting" in Palestine/Israel and a white settler living on Osage land.[177] In its attention to "explicit and opaque socially shared sets of rules," discourse analysis is particularly suited to the Israeli case, where dominative subjects conceal the conditions of possibility for their own sense of home and belonging.[178] By contrast, narrative analysis foregrounds how workers understand their own positions in relation to a shifting terrain of risk.

The field work portion of my archive is based upon seventy interviews and time spent with migrant community leaders, caregivers, employers, and Israeli advocacy workers. The bulk of interviews, including follow-ups, were conducted in person between December 2013 and January 2015, with some additional interviews conducted online in 2021. The periodization of this project is thus prepandemic; with the exception of a few interviews in 2021, our discussions focused largely on caregivers' years of employment before March 2020. During my intermittent time spent in Palestine/Israel between December 2013 and January 2015—one of many periods I spent in the region—I was invited to attend religious services and festivals organized within migrant Filipinx and Nepalese communities, as well as birthday parties, group dinners, hangouts in weekend flats, group trips during caregivers' days off from work, beauty pageants, fundraisers, and informal community gatherings in workers' shared apartments. I was also

invited to attend a weekly Catholic Mass held for the Filipinx community, events within a Filipinx evangelical community, and events for World Migrant Day held by migrant community clergy. Additionally, I visited the Nepalese, Indian, and Sri Lankan embassies to learn about migrant civil society structures and migration rates.

I was largely introduced to employers through Jewish Israeli friends and their family members. By interviewing both elderly employers and their adult children, I could glean aspects of the caregiver/employer relationship from a multigenerational perspective. Citizen-employers had employed caregivers from the Philippines, Nepal, Sri Lanka, India, Romania, and Colombia. They were born in Israel or came from the United States, Poland, Bulgaria, Russia, Iraq, Morocco, and Egypt, among other places. Some employers paid caregivers' salaries themselves, suggesting relative economic security, while others received government subsidies. Employers' adult children were largely Israeli-born citizens who had served in the army and grown up immersed in Zionist culture. Many had taken on Hebraicized names, a practice that began at the start of the twentieth century as a self-indigenizing shedding of nonindigenous Jewish diasporic identity. I met caregivers through acquaintances involved in migrant worker organizing, and these interlocutors put me in contact with others expressing interest in my project. They had previously worked in Saudi Arabia, UAE, Qatar, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Japan, among other places. Some were nurses, paramedics, teachers, and small business owners in their home countries. Others had worked in factories or for airlines, or had been involved in political activism before they migrated. Almost all had been previously employed in other geographical regions of Israel, from remote towns in the South; to *kibbutzim* (collective settlements); to the larger cities of Haifa (originally composed of fifty-two Palestinian villages), Tel Aviv—built upon the Palestinian villages of Sumail, Shaykh Muwannis, Jammasin al-Gharbi, Irshad, Manshiyya, Salama, Abu Kabir—and Jerusalem/al-Quds; to towns along the border with Gaza.[179] Though I never directly asked, given how easily one's status can change from documented to undocumented, it is likely that several of the experiences caregivers shared with me were shaped by the specter of being undocumented. At some times, workers volunteered their undocumented status.

Conversations I held with caregivers and employers were continually inflected by my position as a white Ashkenazi Jewish American located in the academy. Under the Law of Return, I hold the possibility of claiming settler-

citizen status despite my lack of native relation to the land and the absence of a right of return for Palestinians. This is partly what this project is about—the ideologies and laws regularizing a Jewish diasporic "birthright" and framing non-Jewish migrant workers, asylum seekers, and indigenous Palestinians as interlopers. While many Jewish Israelis welcomed me into their home, I was at moments aware of initial skepticism toward my project. One of the first questions some employers asked was whether I was Jewish and why I was so focused on studying Palestine/Israel when care migration is a transnational phenomenon. Inquiries into my status as a Jew were telling of the ways religion, class, race, and settler status influenced what employers assumed about my own political orientations. At other moments, my positionality impacted the elements of stories interviewees chose to share with me and those they did not. Sam, for instance, highlighted his deep love for "the Jewish people" many times during the afternoon we spent together. This could be an effect of my privileged positioning within the state or of his own political and religious beliefs. To this end, I situate myself as a (shifting) proxy for the hegemonic social status of many employers. These tensions underlie my own attempts to weave together these diverse narratives as they abut and converge with media and court archives and the public rhetoric of politicians.

Outside of this project, my knowledge of the broader sociopolitical context is shaped by my time interning at the Alternative Information Center, an anti-Zionist organization based in Jerusalem and Beit-Sahour in the West Bank, and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) in East Jerusalem, an experience that taught me about the fraught relationship between grassroots resistance and the top-down imposition of international priorities. During this time and other visits between 2008 and 2012, I was able to learn from Palestinian and Jewish Israeli activists and organizers, attending protests in Silwan and Sheikh Jarrah and traveling throughout the West Bank. Outside of this project, my broader contextual knowledge also stems from field work done in 2010 on how Palestinian and Jewish Israeli women have strategically deployed or rejected international legal frameworks through grassroots organizing. Also beyond my role as a researcher I volunteered with claims-processing efforts for asylum seekers in January 2014 and as an English tutor within a Spanish-speaking migrant community in Tel Aviv. My positioning is also informed by many years attending Hebrew School, where we were taught, as many Jewish Americans are, that the modern colonial state of Israel is an unquestionable and exclusive

homeland for Jews. It is also shaped by my own familial embroilment with colonization, as I am the granddaughter of a Jewish British soldier stationed in mandate Palestine in the mid-1940s. In his lifetime, my grandfather at once experienced anti-Semitism and accrued the power and privilege of citizen-soldiers serving empire. His positioning encapsulates the tragic ways that European anti-Semitism—as one facet of European racism—became a self-justifying mechanism for the British and Zionist colonization of Palestine while participation in colonization served as entrée into greater Europeanness for many Ashkenazi Jews.

The book proceeds through five chapters. In chapter 1, I situate migrant care work within what I term the "coloniality of Israel's reproductive regime"—the economic, cultural, biological, and discursive reproduction of Israeli settler colonialism and its rootedness in the *longue durée* of imperialism. Here, I take a cue from Jodi Byrd, Nada Elia, and Steven Salaita, who locate settler colonialism as one form of European and US imperialism.[180] Methodologically unsettling care work, I draw on decolonial, Marxist feminist, and Zionist labor history, asking how the systems of meaning attached to care and domestic labor during early colonial encounters undergird "colonial-capital accumulation" in the present.[181] Treating care and reproductive labor as one component of this regime, and as a counterpart to the expropriation of Palestinian land, I examine the *comparative* racialization of Palestinian, Mizrahi, and South and Southeast Asian workers. I suggest how worker and citizen narratives, rulings, government rhetoric, and private recruitment agencies comparatively gender and racialize migrant caregivers. I examine throughout how the treatment of elderly Jewish Israelis as the "ideal image" of vulnerability parallels and stands in for histories of protecting the health of the Jewish collective body.[182]

In chapter 2, I show how migrant caregivers are at once treated as intimate members of the family and "foreign" interlopers excluded from Zionist temporality. While their treatment by the state as "national helpers" reinvigorating the nation and workers performing exceptionally intimate labors enables task expansion, their constitution as a non-Jewish demographic threat justifies surveillance. Their unsettled positioning disrupts the home and nation as an exclusionary Jewish space, even as, paradoxically, live-in eldercare is central to its reproduction. Treating the household and nation as a contiguous terrain of risk, I contend that the dual demands of their positioning as intimate and alien require that they engage in "affective automation," or the repetitive execution of physical and emotional tasks despite

their own limits. This continual demand for labor impacts their exposure to injury within a broader "economy of injury" predicated on the disavowal of indigeneity.[183]

Examining the relationship between the migrant caregiver and the citizen-employer from the perspective of Jewish Israeli employers, in chapter 3, I explore how a "settler common sense" is the background against which the labors of eldercare unfold in the home.[184] Drawing on employer narratives, government statements, and recruitment agency websites, I highlight two common tropes among employers. The "kinship trope" portrays migrants as "one of the [racial] family," despite their exclusion from Zionist time, while the "development trope" depicts them as agents of economic empowerment and Israel as a bastion of economic entrepreneurialism and "gender modernity."[185] Both discourses reinforce settler-employers' position as rightful heirs to the land and disavow native dispossession, even as at other times employers also suggest how caregivers' labors unsettle the home as an exclusionary site of Jewish continuity. I highlight how settler-employers expect migrants' contingent cultural assimilation within Jewish Israeli families despite their essentialized treatment as workers from "developing" countries and their permanent exclusion from Jewish cultural and religious practices.

If injury and surveillance characterize care work, so too do resistance, creative defiance, and community organizing. Chapters 4 and 5 focus on migrant caregivers' "frontstage" and "backstage" strategies for unsettling the asymmetrical employment relationship and surveillance within and beyond the home. Drawing on workers' stories, in chapter 4, I focus on "frontstage" strategies caregivers use to navigate exploitation, including creating indispensability, quitting, direct contestation, and strategic deference. I also examine alignments between migrant caregivers and the state, suggesting how resistance to flexibilization does not necessarily result in a disavowal of settler colonialism. Drawing on Sara Ahmed's concept of "national love," I examine how a love of Israel—in the form of Christian Zionism and sometimes Islamophobia—can reinforce settler exceptionalism. In chapter 5, I ask how caregivers unsettle the colonial commitment to a Jewish majority by sustaining collective forms of life, whether through mutual aid, legal defense, service provision, or emotional support networks. I foreground the dangers of being collectively visible and political among migrant workers and Eritrean and Sudanese asylum seekers, whose treatment is heavily shaped by the dialectic of labor exploitation and anti-Blackness.

I conclude by exploring in brief how the COVID-19 pandemic makes plain particular aspects of Israel's reproductive regime. Each chapter suggests how laws, policies, and household exchanges constitute elderly Jewish Israelis as worthy of care while treating migrant precarity as an unfortunate byproduct of late capitalist markets. Rather than providing an exhaustive exploration of "alien," settler, and native labors from the narrative perspectives of each, I ask how the meaning and value of migrant labor shifts from the comparative vantage point of migrants. For Alice and Sarah, as for other workers and employers, household exchanges naturalize poverty, (neo)colonialism, and land expropriation, yet they also contest exploitative tropes about work, race, colonialism, and gender. Migrant caregivers creatively navigate laws designed to ensure the unpaid extraction of their labor and to prevent them from taking root, establishing expansive networks of mutual aid and solidarity, providing for families and kinship networks, and engaging in workplace resistance and horizontal care beyond the bounds of settler colonial and neoliberal extractivism. These networks, and the individual and collective ways they are built, inspire new and creative ways of imagining care beyond its utility to the state.

As a whole, this book reframes migrant eldercare as a site where gendered, racialized, and indigenous difference is reproduced and challenged at a time when Israel publicly affirms and engages in ongoing practices of ethnic cleansing. In doing so, the book confronts certain commonsense notions of an "aging crisis" as solely a question of the distribution of care. Instead, I argue, a politics of care is only as good as governing logics and social ideologies concerning who is worthy of life. Underlying questions about care—for the elderly, families, communities, kinship networks, and land—are fundamental assumptions about who does and does not have a right to a collective future. This reality requires reorienting feminist discussions concerning care, vulnerability, and dependency around the constitutive relationship between global political economy, indigenous and migrant resistance, and gendered labor in the past and present. As legacies of imperialism continue to animate patterns of migration and capital, migrant caregivers' perspectives and experiences navigating labor extraction and creating community networks can inform contemporary struggles against the uneven violences of settler colonial capitalism.

Introduction

1   I use the terms "Palestine," "Israel," and "Palestine/Israel" in different
     contexts throughout the book. When referring to ongoing settler colonial
     logics propagated by the Israeli government, I draw on the term "Israel."
     A central aim of this project is to show how everyday modes of settler
     colonial governance unfold in ways that naturalize and take for granted
     Israel's declared borders while treating the occupied Palestinian Terri-
     tories of the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem as the sole location of
     colonial displacement. When I use the term "Palestine" I am referring to
     the historic land of Palestine prior to Zionist colonization, dispossession,
     and settlement and to ongoing efforts to recognize the territory within Is-
     rael's declared borders as part of this land. Finally, combining these two
     meanings, at times I use the term "Palestine/Israel" when denaturalizing
     and naming ongoing settler practices while also denoting the territory
     within which migrant caregivers are subjected to the strictures of Israeli
     labor and citizenship laws. The most blatant, recent example of these set-
     tler colonial practices has occurred since this book went into production,
     as Israel undertakes a project of genocide in Gaza with the backing of the
     United States government. In the aftermath of the October 7, 2023, attack
     by Hamas, which followed a seventy-five-year occupation, and the killing of
     1,200 Israelis, Israel has indiscriminately bombed the Gaza Strip, including
     hospitals, schools, and civilian neighborhoods. As of May 22, 2024, Israeli
     bombs and its ground invasion had killed more than 35,000 Palestinians,
     disproportionately children, according to the Gaza Health Ministry. Since

this book was already written when these events unfolded, I am unable to more thoroughly address them throughout each chapter. That said, these events further highlight the naked brutality of Israel's settler colonial regime and the impunity with which it acts.

2   Masalha, "Settler-Colonialism, Memoricide and Indigenous Toponymic Memory."

3   Glass, *From New Zion*, 219. Following Rabab Abdulhadi, I use the term "indigenous Palestinian" to reference "the totality of the Palestinian people, whether they became refugees after being expelled from their land by Zionist militias when Israel was founded in 1948 or they live under Israel's colonial rule in the areas defined as such in 1948 and 1967." Abdulhadi, "Israeli Settler Colonialism in Context," 542.

4   Brodsky et al., *65+ Population*. In Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics and National Insurance Institute literature, the term "elderly" denotes those age sixty-five and older.

5   Harper and Zubida, "Living on Borrowed Time," 108.

6   After four years and three months, migrant caregivers can work in short-term arrangements as substitute caregivers (known as "relievers") for workers who go on vacation, for up to thirty days at a time, until sixty-three months after their arrival. Otherwise, they can apply for a special visa to care for the "extremely severely" disabled, which they can renew until sixty-three months, or until the employer they work for at or after this juncture passes away. See PIBA, *Foreign Workers' Rights Handbook*, 16.

7   Following reforms to the Law of Return in 1970, grandchildren of Jews and their immediate family members may also apply for the "right of return." See Adalah, "Law of Return."

8   Ben-Israel, *Revisiting CEDAW's Recommendations*.

9   Arlosoroff, "Filipina Workers"; Margalit, "Israel's Invisible Filipino Workforce"; Hotline for Migrant Workers, "Children of Migrant Workers."

10   Kav LaOved, "New State Deposit Fund."

11   PIBA, *Foreign Workers' Rights Handbook*.

12   ACRI, "Slavery Law."

13   These areas include the Peripheral Region, Central Region, and Tel Aviv Region. See PIBA, *Foreign Workers' Rights Handbook*.

14   Rifkin, "Settler Common Sense."

15   Bailey, *Butch Queens Up in Pumps*, 19; Francisco-Menchavez, *Labor of Care*.

16   Mohanty, "Women Workers," 5. For a discussion of the treatment of Ethiopian Jews in Palestine/Israel in comparison to Vietnamese refugees, see Gandhi, *Archipelago of Resettlement*.

17   Willen, *Fighting for Dignity*, 8.

18   Here I take a cue from Lisa Lowe's conceptualization of intimacy as "scenes of close connection in relation to a global geography that one more often conceives in terms of vast spatial distances" (*Intimacies*, 18) and David Eng's notion of the "racialization of intimacy" as "the collective ways by which race becomes occluded within the private domain of private family and kinship today" (*Feeling of Kinship*, 10).

19   I take a cue from Kevin Bruyneel's concept of a "third space of sovereignty," a site on the boundaries of colonial governmentality and Native sovereignty that is neither external nor internal to the colonial state's jurisdiction and reach. See Bruyneel, *Third Space of Sovereignty*.

20   According to a 2022 interministerial Knesset staff report, of the 46,000 citizens eligible to hire migrant caregivers, only 6,000 receive entitlement through the disability benefit, and another 750 according to the disabled child benefit. Knesset, "Staff Report."

21   I am grateful to Rhacel Salazar Parreñas for suggesting this term, which broadens my original formulation of the "coloniality of reproductive labor."

22   See Giacaman et al., "Politics of Childbirth"; Hasso, *Buried in the Red Dirt*; Kanaaneh, *Birthing the Nation*; Yuval-Davis, "National Reproduction." Abdulhadi further discusses the "gendered and sexualized narrative of the defeat, subjugation, and submission of Palestinians" ("Israeli Settler Colonialism in Context," 559).

23   Hasso, *Buried in the Red Dirt*.

24   See Jiryis on land expropriation in the years following the Nakba and for a broader discussion of these processes of "Judaization." Mahmani, leader of the Jewish National Fund from 1935 to 1965, authored the "Project for the Judaization of the Galilee." Jiryis, "Land Question in Palestine," 12. See also Nakhleh, "Two Galilees."

25   On this topic see Griffiths and Repo, "Biopolitics and Checkpoint 300"; Giacaman et al., "Politics of Childbirth"; Abusneineh, "(Re)producing the Israeli (European) Body"; Joronen and Griffiths, "Affective Politics of Precarity"; Kanaaneh, *Birthing the Nation*; Kravel-Tovi, "National Mission"; Parsons and Salter, "Israeli Biopolitics"; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, "Stolen Childhood"; Willen, "Citizens, 'Real' Others."

26   Grassiani, "Families in Arms."

27   Lentin, *Traces of Racial Exception*; Said, *Covering Islam*.

28   I use the terms "unsettled" and "unsettling" interchangeably.

29   Eshkol, "Eshkol: A Reply to Nasser," 53.

30   Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," 4; Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill, "Decolonizing Feminism"; Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being"; Abdo and Yuval-Davis, "Palestine, Israel."

31   Murphy, "Unsettling Care," 722, drawing on Unsettling Minnesota, *Unsettling Ourselves*.

32   Kauanui, "A Structure, Not an Event," drawing on Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism." See also Gnaidek, "Times of Settler Colonialism."

33   Hilal, "Rethinking Palestine," 2; Khalidi, *Hundred Years' War*; Tamari, "Normalcy and Violence"; Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground*; Elia, *Greater than the Sum*; Salamanca et al., "Past Is Present."

34   Tamari, "Normalcy and Violence"; Ayyash, *Hermeneutics of Violence*, 203.

35   Chatterjee, "Immigration, Anti-racism," 647.

36   Byrd draws on the term "arrivant," building on the work of Kamau Brathwaite, as a "process" rather than "an identificatory category to claim alongside settler, Native, slave, savage, or settler ally." Byrd, "Weather with You," 210.

37   Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," 18.

38   Trask, "Settlers of Color."

39   Englert, "Settlers, Workers."

40   Gandhi develops this term in relation to Vietnamese refugees in Palestine/Israel and Guam. *Archipelago of Resettlement*, 4.

41   Chatterjee, "Immigration, Anti-racism." On the positioning of (im)migrant/settler/Native subjectivities, see Day, *Alien Capital*; Byrd, "Weather with You"; Lawrence and Dua, "Decolonizing Antiracism"; Saranillo, "Why Asian Settler Colonialism Matters"; Pulido, "Geographies of Race"; Madokoro, "Peril and Possibility"; Thrush, *Indigenous London*; Glenn, "Settler Colonialism as Structure"; Karuka, *Empire's Tracks*; Sharma and Wright, "Decolonizing Resistance."

42   Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time*.

43   Willen, "Citizens, 'Real' Others."

44   For this reason, Israel has granted refugee status to less than 1 percent of Eritrean and Sudanese asylum seekers. Raijman, "Warm Welcome for Some."

45   Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity"; Yuval-Davis, "National Reproduction."

46   Day, "Settler Colonialism."

47   Tadiar, "Uneven Times."

48   Busbridge, "Messianic Time," 5.

49   Parreñas, *Unfree*.

50   Lori, *Offshore Citizens*.

51   On temporality, migration, and waiting, see Bryan, "Wait and While You Wait, Work"; Auyero, *Patients of the State*; Ibañez Tirado, "We Sit and Wait"; Lori, *Offshore Citizens*; Mountz, "Where Asylum-Seekers Wait."

52   Ahmad, *Everyday Conversions*.

53   See also Jackson, "Belonging against the National Odds"; Harper and Zubida, "Living on Borrowed Time."

54   On the legal construction of migrant care work in Palestine/Israel (a concept I expand in chapter 2), see Mundlak and Shamir, "Between Intimacy and Alienage."

55   Exceptions are extremely rare and include permanent residency through marriage to a Jewish Israeli citizen and an Orthodox conversion, followed by an application for citizenship. In 2006, the government said that children of non-Jewish migrant workers who were born in Israel, or who have been in Israel for six years, could receive status. This led to nine hundred children being regularized and granted eligibility for citizenship application upon turning twenty-one or serving in the Israel Defense Forces. In 2009, deportations of migrant children began, and in 2013, a decision similar to that of 2006 was made. See Hotline for Migrant Workers, "Children of Migrant Workers."

56   Willen, *Fighting for Dignity*, 118; Jackson, "Belonging against the National Odds."

57   Ahmad, *Everyday Conversions*.

58   On Christian Zionism among migrant workers, see also Liebelt, *Caring for the "Holy Land"*; Kemp and Raijman, "Christian Zionists"; Jackson, "This Is Not the Holy Land."

59   Ahmed, *Cultural Politics*, 134.

60   Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor."

61   Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground*. See also Abdo, *Women in Israel*; Yuval-Davis, "National Reproduction."

62   Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

63 Parreñas, "Indenture of Migrant Domestic Workers."

64 Constable, "Tales of Two Cities"; Banerjee et al., *Assessing the Changes*.

65 Chin, *In Service and Servitude*; Lee, *Service Economies*; Truong and Quesada-Bondad, "Intersectionality"; Constable, "Tales of Two Cities."

66 Constable, "Sexuality and Discipline."

67 Chen, *Marginalized*; Parreñas, *Unfree*.

68 Parreñas and Silvey, "Precarity of Migrant Domestic Work."

69 Parreñas and Silvey, "Precarity of Migrant Domestic Work."

70 Workforce Development Agency, "Work Qualifications." Parreñas, "Unfree."

71 Ben-Israel, *Revisiting CEDAW's Recommendations*; Arlosoroff, "Filipina Workers"; Berkovitch, "Motherhood as National Mission"; Kanaaneh, *Birthing the Nation*.

72 Senor and Singer, *Start-Up Nation*.

73 Hughes, "Unbounded Territoriality," 217.

74 Ahmad, *Everyday Conversions*.

75 OECD, "Spending on Long-Term Care." This data is based upon thirty-five reporting countries.

76 Kemp, *Reforming Policies on Foreign Workers*; Halperin, "Aging, Family, and Preferences," citing Bar-Zuri, *Holders of Permits*. This data comes from 2010 and, given the growth in the elderly population, is a low estimate for the contemporary percentage. See also Arlosoroff, "World's Highest Rate," drawing on Tamir and Avraham, "Minimizing the Use of Foreign Workers."

77 By comparison, only 20.3 percent of employers in a study of migrant domestic workers in Lebanon hired workers explicitly to do eldercare, and 19.5 percent hired workers to tend to the disabled. ILO, *Study of Employers*. In Jordan, many migrant women also work in the garment industry. ILO, *Migrant Domestic and Garment Workers*.

78 As measured by the UN, the "Western Asia" region includes Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Cyprus, Georgia, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, UAE, and Yemen. See United Nations DESA, *World Population Ageing 2019*.

79 Brodsky et al., *65+ Population in Israel*, drawing on Central Bureau of Statistics, National Insurance Institute, Ministry of Health, and Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs data.

80 This estimate is based on a growth rate of elderly age seventy-five and older between 2002 and 2007 and the rate of increase of government-issued permits for migrant caregivers. Eckstein, *Subcommittee on Foreign Workers*.

81 Busbridge draws the distinction between civic and ethnic settler states. "Settler Colonial 'Turn,'" 107–8. See also Robinson, who argues that Israel is a liberal settler state (*Citizen Strangers*).

82 For a discussion on Israeli efforts to be seen as a "normal" liberal state and to be seen simultaneously as exceptional, see Lloyd, "State of Exception." In the Israeli Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel, the right to establish "a national home for the Jewish people" is derived from the "natural and historic right" of Jews to "Eretz-Israel," or the biblical land of Israel. Though equal social and political rights for non-Jews are invoked, these rights are to be distributed in service of the "Ingathering of Exiles" and the "establishment of a Jewish state." Though Israel has no constitution, its Basic Laws, which serve functionally as its constitution, reaffirm that Israel is "a Jewish democratic state." Masri, "Colonial Imprints."

83 Adalah, "Discriminatory Laws Database"; Ben-Youssef and Tamari, "Enshrining Discrimination."

84 Knesset, "Basic Law—Israel"; Pappé, *Ethnic Cleansing*.

85 Day, "Settler Colonialism"; Hughes, "Unbounded Territoriality"; Abu-Laban and Bakan, *Israel, Palestine, and the Politics of Race*. Importantly, following Bhandar, I do not suggest by this comparison that settler states such as the United States, Australia, and Canada no longer expropriate indigenous land. Bhandar, *Colonial Lives of Property*. I also do not suggest that Israel is "singular or exceptional among settler colonies" but, rather, that borders and annexation in Palestine/Israel form a central part of ongoing public debates within settler society itself. Hughes, "Unbounded Territoriality," 228.

86 Clarno, *Neoliberal Apartheid*; Lloyd and Wolfe, "Settler Colonial Logics"; Veracini, "Settler Collective," citing Lawson, *Unhomely States*, 157.

87 Clarno, *Neoliberal Apartheid*; Farsakh, *Palestinian Labour Migration*. See also Hilal, "Rethinking Palestine."

88 Clarno, *Neoliberal Apartheid*; Farsakh, *Palestinian Labour Migration*. This post-Oslo period has also seen the "NGOisation" of the Palestinian women's movement, as an emphasis on "good governance" under pressure from international donors has replaced certain segments of the grassroots left. Jad, "NGOs," 622, drawing on Alvarez, "Women's Movements"; Kuttab, "Palestinian Women's Movement."

89 See Jamal, *Arab Minority Nationalism*; Shalhoub-Khevorkian, *Security Theology*; Pappé, "Shtetl Colonialism." Due to Israel's strategy of blatant and ongoing expansion—and the high percentage of indigenous as compared to settler citizens (approximately 21 percent of Israeli citizens are Palestinian, according to Haddad Haj-Yahya et al., "Statistical Report on

Arab Society in Israel")—Jewish Israelis' relationship to Palestinians is in many ways discursively distinct from the settler-Native relation in the United States. See Sayegh, "Zionist Colonialism in Palestine"; Hughes, "Unbounded Territoriality"; Veracini, "Settler Collective"; Piterberg, *Returns of Zionism*.

90 Bartram, "Foreign Workers, Refugees."

91 Gandhi, *Archipelago of Resettlement*.

92 Kravel-Tovi, "'National Mission,'" 74. This survivalist logic has justified the Knesset's annual renewal of a state of emergency since 1967. On this topic, see also Lentin, *Traces of Racial Exception*; Lloyd, "State of Exception"; Pappé, "Shtetl Colonialism"; Yiftachel, *Ethnocracy*. State laws, policies, and protocols that follow from this defensive stance have been given as justification for house demolitions, prevention of Palestinian family reunification, extrajudicial killings of Palestinians, administrative detention of Palestinians without trial, expropriation of Palestinian Bedouin land in the Naqab, censoring of Palestinians' right to free speech, and ongoing military attacks. Hilal, "Rethinking Palestine"; Sa'di, "Modernization as an Explanatory Discourse"; Gordon and Ram, "Ethnic Cleansing"; Zureik, *Israel's Colonial Project*; Rouhana, *Palestinian Citizens*; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, *Militarization and Violence*.

93 On the role of international law in ongoing colonization, see Erakat, *Justice for Some*.

94 Lebovitch and Friedman, *Black Money*.

95 Kemp, "Labor Migration and Racialisation."

96 See Oran, "Pensions and Social Reproduction."

97 Bhattacharya, "How Not to Skip Class"; Oran, "Pensions and Social Reproduction."

98 Litwin et al., "Religiosity and Well-Being," 209.

99 Knesset, "24th Knesset, Protocol 26."

100 Zertal, *Israel's Holocaust*, 18, 21.

101 I am grateful to Jasbir Puar for helping me think through this angle of Israeli settler colonialism.

102 Sperling, "Be Fruitful and Multiply," 363.

103 Raz-Krakotzkin, "Exile within Sovereignty"; Abusneineh, "(Re)producing the Israeli (European) Body," 108. See also Puar, *Right to Maim*, 102; Piterberg, *Returns of Zionism*, 94; Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*.

104 Aging Analytics Agency, *Longevity Industry*.

105 Anderson, *Doing the Dirty Work?*

106 Hardt, "Affective Labor"; Anderson, *Doing the Dirty Work?*; Gutiérrez Rodríguez, *Migration, Domestic Work and Affect*.

107 Kav LaOved, *Shadow Report*. See also Ayalon, "Evaluating the Working Conditions."

108 Hobart and Kneese, "Radical Care," 2.

109 On this topic, see also Ruddick, *Maternal Thinking*; Held, *Ethics of Care*; Nadasen, "Rethinking Care Work"; Ticktin, "Care beyond Innocence"; Yuval-Davis, "Nationalism, Belonging, Globalization."

110 See Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*; Threadcraft, *Intimate Justice*; Morgan, *Laboring Women*; Davis, "Women and Capitalism."

111 Palmer, *Domesticity and Dirt*; Rollins, *Between Women*.

112 Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins."

113 Brah, interview by Bhandar and Ziadah, 41; Bhandar and Ziadah, introduction to *Revolutionary Feminisms*; Davis, *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle*, 19.

114 Hobart and Kneese, "Radical Care," 3.

115 Gandhi discusses these "archipelagos" in the context of Vietnamese refugees in Palestine/Israel and Guam. Gandhi, *Archipelago of Resettlement*.

116 hooks, *All about Love*; hooks, *Sisters of the Yam*; Lorde, *Burst of Light*; Caldera, "Challenging Capitalist Exploitation"; Nash, "Practicing Love," 3; Woodly, "Black Feminist Visions."

117 Lorde, *Burst of Light*, 130. Piepzna-Samarasinha, *Care Webs*; Threadcraft, *Intimate Justice*; Narayan, "Colonialism"; TallBear, "Caretaking."

118 Liebelt, *Caring for the "Holy Land"*; Parreñas, "Migrant Domestic Workers as 'One of the Family.'"

119 Manalansan, "Queering the Chain of Care Paradigm."

120 Francisco-Menchaves, *Labor of Care*; Parreñas, "Long Distance Intimacy"; Tungohan, "Reconceptualizing Motherhood."

121 Tronto, "The 'Nanny' Question," 48. See also Tronto, *Caring Democracy*; Gould, *Interactive Democracy*.

122 Shalhoub-Kevorkian, "Education under Siege"; Shalhoub-Kevorkian, "Human Suffering in Colonial Contexts"; Elia, *Greater Than the Sum*; Kravel-Tovi, "'National Mission.'"

123 Day, *Alien Capital*, 16.

124 Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 14. See also Federici, *Caliban and the Witch*; Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation*.

125 Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground*, 17–18; Kotef, *Colonizing Self*.

126 Abdo, *Women in Israel*; Meari, "Roles of Palestinian Peasant Women"; Abu Awwad, "Gender and Settler Colonialism." The term "Mizrahi" generally refers to Jews of Middle East and North African origin. The term has a distinctively political connotation, denoting a "hybrid identity" that contests the racialization of the categories "Jew" and "Arab" as mutually exclusive. Shohat, "The Invention of the Mizrahim," 5; Lavie, *Wrapped in the Flag*.

127 See Bakan, "The 'Jewish Question'"; Rouhana and Sabbagh-Khoury, "Settler-Colonial Citizenship"; Abdo and Yuval-Davis, "Palestine, Israel and the Zionist Settler Project." For a discussion of Zionism and the making of a national home, see Shalhoub-Kevorkian, "Infiltrated Intimacies."

128 Day, *Alien Capital*, 24, 31; Karuka, *Empire's Tracks*; Hilal, "Imperialism and Settler Colonialism," 53.

129 Rosenhek, "Political Dynamics," citing a 1995 issue of formerly circulating Israeli newspaper *Davar*.

130 Bartram, "Foreign Workers in Israel"; Farsakh, *Palestinian Labour Migration*.

131 Beinin, "Palestine and Israel." See also Farsakh, *Palestinian Labour Migration*, 136.

132 Clarno, *Neoliberal Apartheid*, 40; Farsakh, *Palestinian Labour Migration*.

133 Farsakh identifies "bantustanisation" as the post-Oslo period wherein the West Bank and Gaza Strip became "*de facto* population reservoirs reminiscent of South Africa's bantustans insofar as they are unsustainable economically and unable to separate viably from Israel to form an independent contiguous state." Farsakh, *Palestinian Labour Migration*, 2. On neoliberal retrenchment and inequality, see Maron and Shalev, introduction to *Neoliberalism as a State Project*.

134 Clarno, *Neoliberal Apartheid*, 39.

135 Hasso, *Buried in the Red Dirt*; Morgensen, "Settler Homonationalism."

136 Farsakh, *Palestinian Labour Migration*.

137 Hall and Massey, "Interpreting the Crisis," 55. Hall describes a conjuncture as "long or short" and "not defined by time or by simple things like a change of regime—though these have their own effects." Bartram describes the entrance of migrant laborers into Israeli labor markets somewhat similarly, as a "product of congruence." Bartram, "Foreign Workers in Israel," 322.

138 Day, *Alien Capital*, 33.

139 Morgensen, "Settler Homonationalism," 119; Goldberg, *Threat of Race*, 114.

140 Arlosoroff, "World's Highest Rate"; Shapiro, "Development of a 'Privileged Underclass'"; Eckstein, "Hiring Foreign Workers."

141 Chernichovsky et al., *Long-Term Care*.

142 Morgensen, *Spaces between Us*, 36.

143 Benjamin, *Gendering Israel's Outsourcing*.

144 Kemp and Fuentes, "Between Border Policies," quoting Kemp and Raijman, *Foreign and Workers*.

145 Iecovich, "Long-Term Care Insurance Law," 84.

146 Benjamin, *Gendering Israel's Outsourcing*; Hacker, *Legalized Famlies*.

147 Parreñas and Silvey, "Precarity of Migrant Domestic Work," 432. On these phenomena more broadly, see Trimikliniotis and Fulias-Souroulla, "Informalisation and Flexibilisation."

148 Brodsky et al., *65+ Population in Israel*. This 13 percent also includes the smaller population of non-Arab Christians and religiously unaffiliated elderly.

149 Brodsky et al., *65+ Population in Israel*.

150 Ayalon, "Perceived Discrimination," citing National Insurance Institute. See also Khalaila and Litwin, "Modernization and Future Care Preferences"; Khalaila and Litwin, "Modernisation and Filial Piety"; Halperin, "Aging, Family, and Preferences."

151 See Baron-Epel, Garty, and Green, "Inequalities in Use of Health Services"; Kanaaneh, *Birthing the Nation*, 48, quoting Swirski, Kanaaneh, and Avgar, "Health Care in Israel"; Keshet, Popper-Giveon, and Liberman, "Intersectionality"; Rouhana, *Palestinian Citizens*.

152 Khatib and Muhammad, "Health Status of Palestinians." See also Sa'ar, *Economic Citizenship*.

153 In drawing on the term "apartheid," I take a cue from Elia, who argues that apartheid is the legal system upholding settler colonial theft. Elia, *Greater than the Sum*.

154 Parreñas, "Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers," 561; Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception*, 7. See also Ehrenreich and Hochschild, introduction to *Global Woman*; Ehrenreich, "Maid to Order."

155 ILO, *Decent Work for Migrant Domestic Workers*; Standing, "Global Feminization."

156 Choy, *Empire of Care*.

157 Fifty percent of revenue under Marcos, for example, went to interest payments on foreign debt. Parreñas, *Children of Global Migration*, 15, referencing

Mendoza, *Debt Management Approach*. The Philippines is thus the third-largest remittance-receiving country in Asia.

158   Rodriguez, "Migrant Heroes," 347. See also Guevarra, *Marketing Dreams*; Oishi, *Women in Motion*.

159   Raijman and Kushnirovich, *Labor Migrant Recruitment Practices*, 7.

160   Raijman and Kushnirovich, *Labor Migrant Recruitment Practices*.

161   Lebovitch and Friedman, *Black Money*. Numbers reflect the period within which I conducted interviews before the introduction of bilateral agreements. On the importance of bilateral agreements, see Kushnirovich and Raijman, *Impact of Bilateral Agreements*.

162   See also Liebelt, *Caring for the "Holy Land."* Paul, "Stepwise International Migration."

163   Williams, "Transnational Political Economy of Care"; Williams, "Care: Intersections of Scale."

164   Melnyk, *Regulating International Labor Recruitment*. A bilateral agreement between Israel and the Philippines in the home care sector exists as of 2018. As of 2020, general bilateral agreements exist between Israel and Nepal and Israel and Sri Lanka.

165   Boris, *Making the Woman Worker*; Fish, *Domestic Worker Organizing*.

166   Boris and Fish, "Domestic Workers Go Global"; IDWF, "About Us."

167   Roseware discusses the symbolic nature of these shifts more broadly in "The ILO's Domestic Worker Convention."

168   Mahon, "Through a Fractured Gaze," 572.

169   Roseware, "The ILO's Domestic Worker Convention"; Mahon, "Through a Fractured Gaze."

170   Melnyk, *Regulating International Labor Recruitment*.

171   Lowe, *Intimacies*, 21.

172   Wedeen, "Reflections on Ethnographic Work," 264.

173   See Mills, *Racial Contract*; Hayward, *How Americans Make Race*.

174   hooks, *All about Love*; Ackerly, *Just Responsibility*; Ackerly et al., "Unearthing Grounded Normative Theory," 5.

175   Foucault, *History of Sexuality*; Foucault, "Birth of Biopolitics"; Schotten, *Queer Terror*, xiii.

176   Kotef, *Movement*, 5; Lentin, *Traces of Racial Exception*; Abu-Laban and Bakan, "Social Sorting."

177 Bakan introduces the term "citizen-in-waiting" to refer to the status granted world Jewry with respect to becoming citizens in Israel. Bakan, "The 'Jewish Question,'" 261.

178 Hodes, "Gender, Race, and Justification," 74; Veracini, "Introducing 'Settler Colonial Studies.'"

179 Palestine Remembered, "District of Haifa"; Decolonizer, "Tel Aviv and Its Palestinian Localities."

180 Byrd, *Transit of Empire*; Elia, *Greater than the Sum*; Salaita, "Inter/Nationalism."

181 Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*.

182 Ahmed, *Cultural Politics*, 113.

183 Puar, *Right to Maim*, xvii.

184 Rifkin, "Settler Common Sense."

185 Gonalons-Pons, "Modern Domesticity," 40; Morgensen, "Settler Homonationalism."

Chapter 1. The Coloniality of Israel's Reproductive Regime

1 Litwin et al., "Religiosity and Well-Being," 2.

2 See Mazuz, "Beauty Contests"; Shapiro, "Development of a 'Privileged Underclass'"; Weissbrod, "'Translated People.'"

3 Rosenhek, "Political Dynamics," 243.

4 Norton, "Israeli Cleaning Company."

5 Applied Research Institute, *Beit Surik*; Applied Research Institute, *Biddu*; Applied Research Institute, *Qatanna*.

6 Kershner, "Palestinian Gunman"; Lieber, "Man Who Cleaned Our House."

7 Rubin, "Palestinian Kills 3."

8 Lieber, "Man Who Cleaned Our House."

9 Weiss, *Chosen Body*, 128.

10 Abusneineh, "(Re)producing the Israeli (European) Body," 100. See also Abu El-Haj, *Genealogical Science*.

11 Weiss, *Chosen Body*, 1; Abusneineh, "(Re)producing the Israeli (European) Body," 109. See also Piterberg, *Returns of Zionism*, 94; Boyarin, "Homophobia"; Puar, *Right to Maim*; Presner, *Muscular Judaism*. For Weiss, the collective body is premised upon the "chosen body"—that of the youthful,